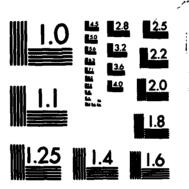
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### ABSTRACT

This study provides a brief overview of the historic period of the MX-OB Cannon Air Force Base Expansion area. The study begins coverage with the Apache occupation of the study area which began sometime between 1400 and 1600 A.D. and ended with the intrusion of the Comanche during the late 17th to 19th centuries.

The model of historic adaptation to the Great Plains presented by Walter Prescott Webb is used as an explanatory vehicle throughout. Within this context, the Spanish and Mexican penetration of the project area, beginning with the possible return passage of Coronado's army in 1542, through the development and flourishing of the Comanchero and Cibolero trades are explored.

The Anglo-American period in the area reflects the development of a suitable technological adaptation to the Plains environment. This adaptation is particularly reflected in the project area in sequence of land use and improvements, and the development of transportation routes.

Particular attention has been paid to the events leading to the construction of the Belen cut-off of the Santa Fe Railroad. This transportation corridor is of national importance, and its construction is responsible for establishing the recent economic and settlement pattern in the project area. This railroad corridor is the cause of the formation of Clovis, the establishment of an air terminal on the first transcontinental air route, which led indirectly to the establishment of the Clovis Army Air Base during World War II, and eventually to the establishment of Cannon Air Force Base. This study endeavors to fulfill the need for a concise historical overview of the projected Operating Base Expansion of Cannon AFB for the MX missile system. The study centers on a very limited amount of land located to the north and west of the present air base. As is the case with many historical studies which are performed on arbitrarily (in historical terms) delineated areas, this study tends toward the assemblage of anecdotes and esoteric information which do not readily lend themselves to the construction of historical models of development. Instead, it is necessary to try to the the details of local events to the broader framework of themes provided by national and regional history.

In short this study attempts to show how the broader frame of events is reflected in, or dictates, the pattern of local happenings. This approach could not be developed to its maximum advantage within the time allotted for the performance of the study, and certain obvious shortcomings have resulted. I have attempted to remedy these faults by pointing out directions for further study which I believe are of interest.

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PREFACE

#### METHODOLOGY

This study has two major purposes: First, to identify major historical themes applicable to the people and events of the project area; and second, to identify sources of information which will allow articulation of events specific to the project area with those major historical themes.

Due to time constraints, much of the information needed for the identification of specific historical themes and the earliest history of the area has been derived from secondary sources. The same is true of some of the data applying to later events. However, whenever feasible, recourse to primary sources of data has been made. These sources include real estate and estate probate records available at the Curry County courthouse, the newspaper morgue of the Clovis News Journal, Census Data from the U.S. Census and information obtained from interviews conducted by Ms. Emily Abink of Human Environmental Resources Systems.

The available data do not allow the generation of a historical systematic model from the project area data alone, but they certainly provide a means for using existing thematic models to explain local events. By means of exploring the implications of various previous models and interpretations of the frontier and comparing these implications with the pattern of local events, an evaluation of "correctness of fit" of various models for this locale can be made. This is the approach which has been used in this study.

The background research for this project was conducted by the author aided by Mr. Anthony Boldurian, Department of Anthropology, and

Mrs. Edis Schermer. Mr. Boldurian reviewed the available courthouse records and materials available at the Clovis Carver Library in a period of four days. Mrs. Schermer spent two days reviewing the Clovis News Journal newspaper morgue and materials in the vertical files of the Special Collections Section of the Golden Library, Eastern New Mexico University. The author expended twelve very long days on the research for this paper, and approximately eight days in writing and revising the report.

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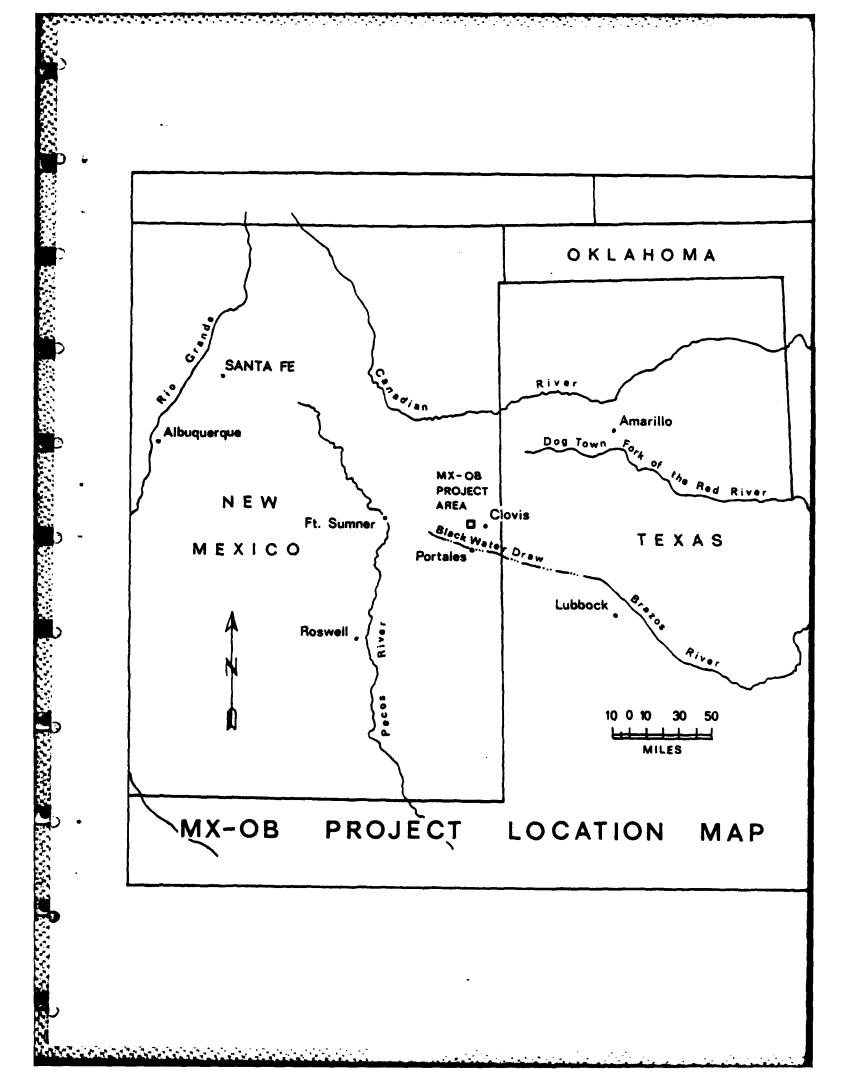
#### GEOGRAPHICAL SETTING

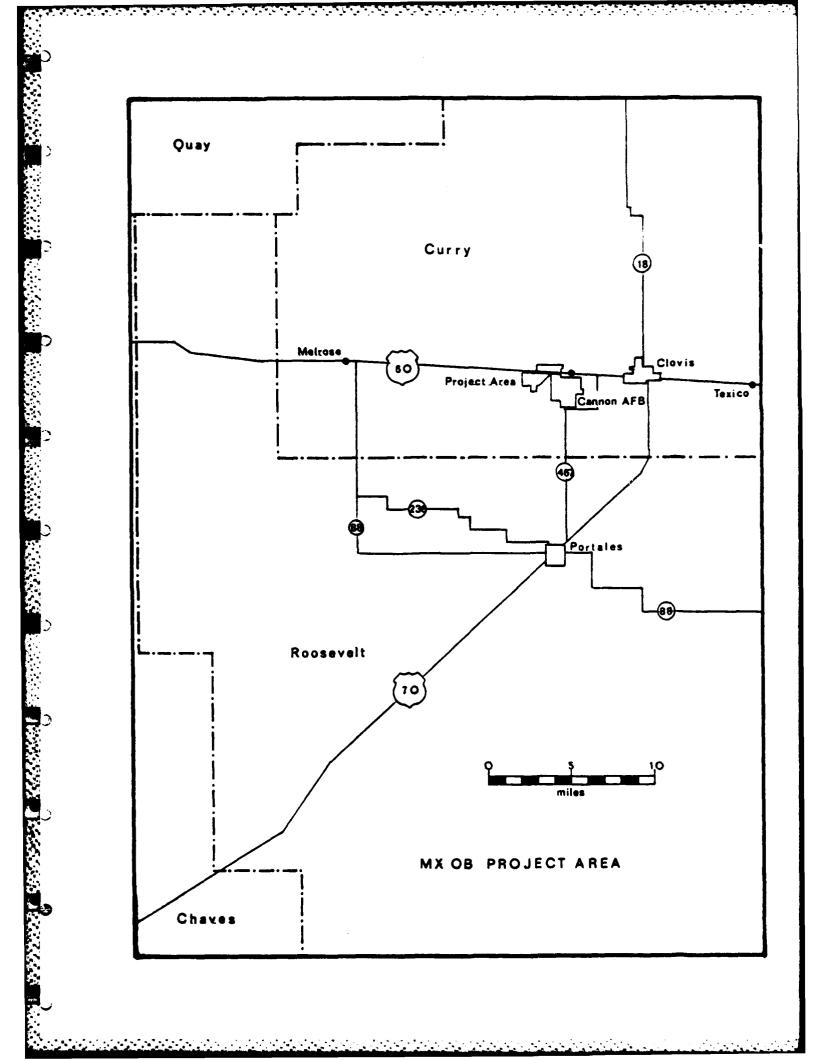
The proposed study area is located some 5 to 8 miles west of Clovis, New Mexico, in Curry County. It is situated in the interior of the Llano Estacado, or "Staked Plain." The altitude of the immediate area falls between 4315 and 4373 feet above sea level. In short, the study area is located within 20 miles of the New Mexico-Texas boundary at a point nearly equidistant from both the northern and southern boundaries of NM.

The plain on which the study area is located is a portion of an extensive tableland which forms the southern end of the High Plains. This plain is virtually level, with an extremely slight gradient to the east. Such relief as is to be found in the area is provided by a series of small, internally drained lakes which have formed in small karst sink features and the filled-in swales which now mark the course of certain extinct Pleistocene streams or rivers. In the case of the project area, the gradient is modified by the presence of a branch of Blackwater Draw to the southeast.

In terms of ecology, the project area falls in what are termed the short-grassed plains. Typically, these plains were occupied by a series of short to mid-height grasses and a small number of cactus and yucca species. This situation is modified locally in the sand hill belt which occurs to the south. In these sand hills, the vegetation is dominated by oak brush and mesquite; yucca and cacti are more prevalent.

The climate of the area is semi-arid, with rainfall between 10 and 20 inches annually. At the same time, the average summer evaporation rate is between 50 and 55 inches, definitely placing the area within the realm of dryland farming techniques. The very character of the area was to govern the nature of its history.





#### THE MODEL

In the course of conducting the research on the proposed project area, I have come to the conclusion that the model which best describes settlement and development in the area is that presented by Walter Webb (1931) in his classic work on the Great Plains. Webb contends that the 98th meridian represents a line along which climatological factors invalidated the available frontier strategies of the Europeans, particularly the Anglo Americans. He argues that the dry, timberless plains required the creation of new systems of adaptation and itemizes these as: 1) the development of reliance on horseback transportation and the development of effective horse weapons in order to meet and defeat the mounted Plains Indians; 2) the development of transport routes (railroads) in order to allow effective exploitation of the range by stockmen; 3) the development of barbed wire fencing to allow the control and improvement of cattle and the establishment of farmsteads; and finally, 4) the invention of the windmill to help overcome the problem of water shortage. As we proceed with this study, it will become apparent that the settlement of the project area provides a nearly text book example of the progression delineated by Webb.

## PRE-CONTACT AND SPANISH-MEXICAN PERIOD

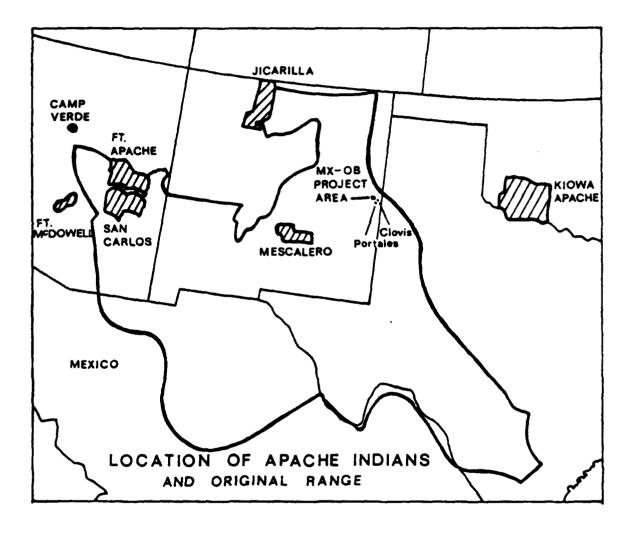
A full-blown ethnological study of the various tribes which at one time or another have been in the project area is not within the scope of this study. However, it is necessary to define in general terms who these groups were and what the nature of their cultural adaptations to the area was.

At the time of earliest Spanish contact, the region of the project area was occupied by the Apache. These Indians are believed to have reached the Southern High Plains at some period between the 13th and 16th centuries A.D. (Collins 1971:93). Some authors prefer to narrow this dating and Schroeder (1974:33) prefers to say sometime between 1400 and 1600 A.D. It appears likely to have been well before the 17th century however, and most historians interpret the Spanish records as indicating that the Apaches were present in the region in the mid 16th century.

At the time of Spanish contact, the Apaches were a semi-sedentary plains group. They lived in small rancherias and hunted bison while also planting small gardens. They were also carrying on trade and raiding among the Pueblo Indians to the west (Collins 1971:92-93).

The precise identity of the Apache bands which occupied the area of the present study is somewhat difficult to establish. Newcomb (1961) believes that the Teya band probably occupied this area before the introduction of the horse. Schroeder (1974) believes that, at the time that the Comanche moved nto the area and drove the Apache southward, the band in occupation of the area may have been the Lipan Apache.

With the entry of the Spanish, the Plains Apache made their first acquaintance with the horse. We do not know when this group obtained



their first horse, but Spanish records indicate that they had many horses by 1684 (Webb 1939:117). With the increased mobility provided by the horse, the Apache began to rely more heavily on the bison and stepped up their raids on the Rio Grande settlements, this in turn leading to increasing Spanish hostility for the Apache.

By the second decade of the 18th century, however, the Apach2 attitude toward the Spanish was being modified by the entry of the Comanche into what had been the Apacheria (in particular this led the Lipan to request a mission in central Texas, not to become Christians, but to gain the protection of a presidio. This incident is described by Bannon 1974). The date of the development of hostilities directly between the Spanish and Apaches is uncertain, but it probably resulted from the Humanas expedition of 1593. This party was attacked and destroyed on the plains by pre-horse Apaches (Webb 1939:121). The increased raiding in the province of New Mexico and farther south did nothing to ameliorate this situation and it eventually worked to the disadvantage of the Apache when the Spaniards decided to enter into an alliance with the Comanche against the Apache.

At the time of the Comanche appearance on the Llano, they were already in possession of horses. Spanish records indicate that they were in possession of a sizeable number by 1714 (Webb 1939:117). The Comanche were originally a part of the Shoshones but apparently split off after an argument with another band and began moving southward along the eastern front of the Rocky Mountains. By the time the Comanche reached the Llano Estacado, they had become highly mobile, horse mounted buffalo hunters. As the Comanche moved south, they came into increasing contact with the Apache, first striking and driving in the Jicarilla, then the Querecho

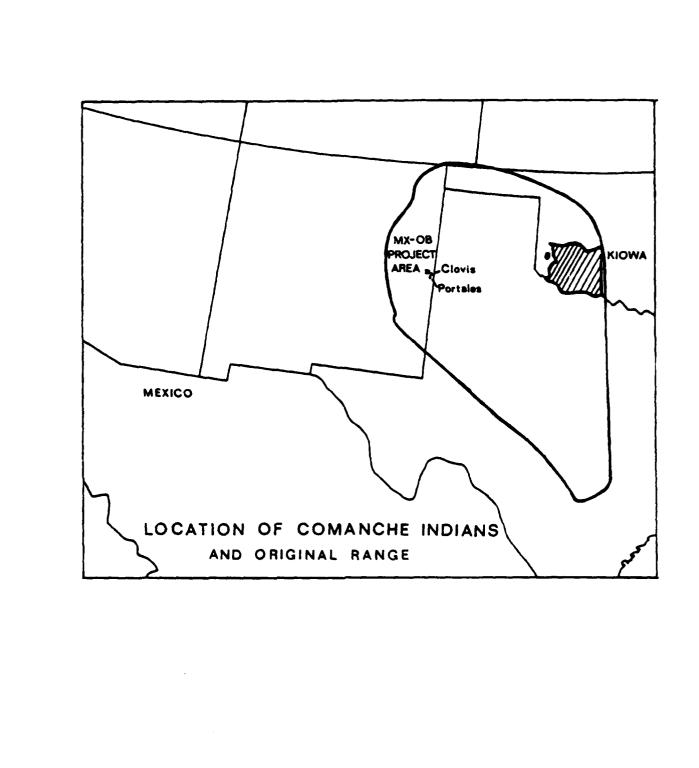
and Teya's (Collins 1971:95). By the end of the 18th century, the Comanche were in control of the "Comancheria." This area contains the project area and is described by Wallace and Hoebel (1972:12):

Comancheria, the land of the Comanches, may be reasonably said to have been in mid-nineteenth century the vast South Plains area bounded on the north by the Arkansas River, on the west by a line extending from the headwaters of the Arkansas southward near the Mexican settlements of Taos and Santa Fe, on the southeast by the white settlements in the vicinity of San Antonio, Fredericksburg and Austin, and on the east by Crosstimbers, or approximately along a line slightly west of the ninety-eighth meridian; an area of more than six-hundred miles from north to south and 400 miles from east to west.

The warfare between the Comanche and Apache was nearly constant throughout the 18th century, and the Comanche were generally successful. It is probable that this general pattern of Comanche success can be attributed to the unwillingness of the Apache to give up their "rancheria" gardening adaptation. This left them in small stationary groups which were vulnerable to the Comanches' mobile hit-and-run warfare (Kenner 1969:32).

The Spanish in New Mexico, who had been subjected to both raids and overtures for peace and trading by the Comanches, eventually opted to obtain an alliance with the Comanches against the Apache. However, nothing lasting in this direction was achieved until the late 18th century after Governor De Anza was able to achieve a decisive victory over the Comanche. From the end of the 18th century until the mid-19th century, the Comanche left New Mexico in relative peace, directing their raiding activities at the northern provinces of 01d Mexico. It was not until the Anglo Americans began to enter the Comancheria in sizeable numbers and obtained control of New Mexico that New Mexico was again subjected to any sizeable Comanche attacks. However, following

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the Civil War, large numbers of U.S. troops were finally sent against the Comanche, and by 1874 the last of the Comanche bands had been forced onto the reservation. The last Comanche band to be brought in was the Quahadi band of Quanha Parker, and it is within the range of this Comanche band that the project area fell (Richardson 1933:105). It is impossible to separate the history of European settlement in the project area from that of the Comanche; therefore, frequent reference to interactions between the Spanish, Mexicans and Anglo Americans with the Comanche will be encountered throughout this study in sections dealing with these European groups.

## Remains in the Project Area

The potential for aboriginal remains in the project area originating from the Apache and Comanche occupations can be considered as being low to moderate. Apache sites are likely to be temporary camp sites with material assemblages resembling those of the Dismal River culture. Sites from the Comanche period will probably be similar to those of the Apache. The major difference between the two types of assemblages being reflected in projectile points, and the more frequent use of metals in the Comanche sites.

The geology of the project area is such that very little of the original site patterning can be expected to have survived. The primary agencies of disturbance are on-going recurrent deflation and agricultural machinery.

## THE SPANISH-MEXICAN PERIOD

While Spanish exploration of New Mexico begins in the first part of the 16th century, there was never a great amount of documented Spanish penetration of the project area. The earliest possible entry may have been made by Coronado's army on its return from the Plains in 1542. The actual route of the Coronado expedition has been the subject of a great deal of debate. In general this route is placed well to the north, along the Canadian River valley. This view is held by Schroeder (1974), Beck (1971), Holden (1944), and Winship (1978b).

All authors appear to agree that the outward bound route was north of the project area; however, Holden (1944) and Donoghue (1929) believe that the army returned by way of Blackwater Draw, and that Coronado really never left the Llano Estacado. According to Holden:

In going from Palo Duro to the Blanco the army either crossed, or more likely followed for some distance up the South Tule. From the South Tule to the Blanco, which is west of Plainview, known as Running Water Draw, was a day's march. From Running Water Draw to Spring Lake in the north part of Lamb County was another day's march. From Spring Lake to living water on the North Yellowhouse, which on the more recent Texas highway maps is given as the Double Mountain Fork of the Brazos, but which is locally known as Blackwater Draw, was an easy day's march. The route went by the (1944) headquarters of the Mashed O Ranch . . . Blackwater Draw crosses the sandhills in the vicinity of Muleshoe . . .

West of Muleshoe, Black Water Draw afforded fresh water until the army reached Portales Spring near the town of Portales in New Mexico. From here the route extended up the valley, slightly to the northwest to a spring five or six miles southwest of Melrose . . . (Holden 1944:15-16).

Donoghue (1929) used a similar line of reasoning and describes a

similar route:

. . After Coronado's departure the army obtained Teya guides to lead the way by the most direct practical route to Cicuye. As water and food were practical considerations the army marched south of west to the Rio Pecos, striking it at about the bend south of Fort Sumner, and then northwest along the river to the bridge into Cicuye.

Salt Lakes were encountered on the march to the Pecos. The most northerly of the salt and alkali lakes of the Llano Estacado are in Bailey and Lamb Counties, Texas, and in Roosevelt County, New Mexico. This would bring the line of march south of Clovis. It should be noted that the course of the Rio Pecos south of Fort Summer in De Baca County, New Mexico, changes from southeast to slightly west to south. This bend is the nearest point on the river to the "ravines" of Palo Duro and Tule.

The return march of the army therefore was through the counties of Swisher, Castro, Lamb, and Bailey, in Texas, and Roosevelt, De Baca, and San Miguel Counties in New Mexico (89-90).

While Donoghue does not indicate that the route passes through Curry County, several small playa lakes which fit Spanish descriptions (Donoghue 1929:84) do occur in the project area, so that the possibility of Coronado's men passing through the area should not be entirely precluded.

The passage of Coronado's men is the last formally documented Spanish penetration of the project area; however, some Spanish or Spanish-backed use of the area occurred from the mid-18th century until the Comanches were confined to the reservation in 1875.

One such penetration of the area occurred shortly after the establishment of the De Anza peace. In June, 1792, a Comanche, Ecueracapa, provisioned by the Spaniards and accompanied by a New Mexican interpreter, led 500 Comanches against the Lipan Apache. One portion of this party under a chief named Geranuco moved directly eastward from the Bosque Redondo to the plains and attacked an Apache camp after a march of 14 days (Kenner 1969:59-60). Such a route would have taken this expedition either through or very close to the study area.

The major use of the project area in the Spanish-Mexican period appears to have occurred in relation to the operations of the Commucheros and Ciboleros. The presence of surface water at various points along the return route of Coronado's army was either remembered or rediscovered in the period between 1542 and the beginning of the Commuchero trade. This water supply attracted one of the two major Commuchero routes onto the Liano Estacado.

The Comanchero trade can be viewed as a natural outgrowth of the trade fairs which had been held at various times at Taos and Pecos pueblos. In essence, the New Mexicans decided to take the market to the customer.

The Comanchero trade developed as an outgrowth of the peace treaty made between De Anza and the Comanche leader Ecueracapa in 1786. The trade was at various times supported and suppressed by the various governments of New Mexico (Kenner 1969:78).

The term Comanchero was applied to various Pueblo or Mexican traders who operated among the Comanche in the 19th century. The term is not Spanish in origin. It appears that the term Comanchero may have been coined, or perhaps popularized by Josiah Gregg in his 1843 book <u>Commerce</u> of the <u>Prairies</u> (Moorehead, ed. 1954:257). Gregg describes the Comancheros in this manner:

. . . we were overtaken by a party of <u>Comancheros</u>, or Mexican Comanche traders, when we had the satisfaction of learning that we were on the right track.

These men had been trading with a band of Comanches we had lately met, and learning from them that we had passed on, they has hastened to overtake us, so as to obtain our protection against the savages, who, after

selling their animals to the Mexicans, very frequently take forcible possession again, before the purchased can reach their homes. These parties of Comancheros are usually composed of the indigent rude classes of the frontier villages, who collect together, several times a year, and launch upon the plains with a few trinkets and trumperies of all kinds, and perhaps a bag of bread, and maybe another of <u>pinole</u>, which they barter away to the savages for horses and mules. The entire stock of an individual trader seldom exceeds twenty dollars, with which he is content to wander about for several months, and glad to return home with a mule or two, as the proceeds of his traffic (Moorehead, ed. 1954:257).

Gregg's description of the character of the Comanchero traders is hardly flattering, but his attitude is representative of that of most Anglo Americans who came into contact with these merchants. Later Americans would accuse these traders of gun-running and accepting stolen cattle in payment for goods (Kenner 1969:85).

Kenner (1969) with more than a century of time to separate him from the traders is more kindly in his evaluations, noting that these traders concealed and rescued Comanche captives on a number of occasions. As to gun-running, if such activity occurred at all, it developed very late in the trade. In general, the flow of firearms was from the Comanches to the traders (Kenner 1969:85).

The peak trading season for the Comancheros was apparently early fall or late summer. Their stock in trade included primarily foodstuffs and drygoods. They rarely traded manufactured goods, although they would trade lances, tomahawks and ready-made iron or steel arrow spikes. These arrowheads began to rapidly supersede the traditional stone points (Kenner 1969:82-85).

The major route of approach to the plains used by the Comancheros was along the Canadian River to the north. However, a secondary route existed which ran eastward from the Bosque Redondo, down the Portales

Valley and ended near Lubbock (Kenner 1969). Due to the nature of the trade carried out and the fact that at times the trade was subject to attempts at suppression, it is probable that some Comanchero parties passed through the project area, particularly near the close of the trade.

A related use of the Llano Estacado was made by Ciboleros. These were New Mexican buffalo hunters who entered the plains during the same period as the Comancheros. These parties would set out in the late fall and hunt buffalo with bow and lance in a manner similar to the Plains Indians, the major difference being that the Ciboleros would bring wagons or carts to bring back hides, meat and lard. Very frequently they would also carry trade goods to barter with the Comanche if they should be encountered. In the period following the Civil War, the Ciboleros encountered increasing hostility from the Comanche as the buffalo were annihilated and from American buffalo hunters, who would often shoot the Ciboleros if they ruined a "stand." Thus, the traffic of both the Comanchero and the Cibolero was ended by the American extermination of the buffalo which eventually led to the confinement of the Comanche.

The New Mexicans took some advantage of the long period of relative peace to begin establishing some ranching and sheep raising operations along the Pecos River. However, while some attempts were made to graze the animals on the Llano Estacado, these were coming under increasing Comanche attack as pressure built upon this tribe due to white encroachment. There is virtually no evidence that such activity took place in the project area during the Spanish-Mexican period.

The Spanish-Mexican period was ended by the entry of American military forces and the seizure of the province in 1847. While this

change of government would eventually result in a changed approach to the High Plains and the Plains Indians, these would come about largely after the Civil War. In the meantime, it might be interesting to explore why there was so little Spanish-Mexican penetration of the project area.

Webb indicates that the reason for the unusual shape of the northern Spanish borderland frontier was that it conformed to the region to which it was adapted and literally wrapped around the High Plains.

An examination of the expansion of Spain from Mexico City northward reveals to us that Spain's agents of colonization-economic, religious and military-broke down in that order. It could not cope with a people who could not be conquered, would not stay converted, had no property to confiscate, and steadfastly refused to produce any (Webb 1931:89).

In short, the Spanish approach to obtaining and controlling an area was based on establishing authority usually by military means, maintaining control of the populace by means of imposing a religious philosophy which stressed meek acceptance of established authority, and finally economic exploitation of the population once it had been subdued and become docile. The Comanches refused to accept this situation and the Spanish government was unwilling to adopt other means of achieving their ends.

Two primary reasons that the Spanish could not impose their authority on the Comanche on the High Plains were the mobility conferred on the Comanche by the horse and the better adaptation of the Comanche weapons and methods of warfare to the High Plains environment. The Plains Indians in essence had a firepower advantage over the slowloading muskets and rifles of the period. Since these problems, among others, were solved by the Anglo Americans in their approach to the

Great Plains, it is perhaps better to move on to the Anglo American period.

Remains in the Project Area

Because of the failure of the Spanish-Mexican approach to the Great Plains, the utilization of the project area by these groups was virtually nil. Spanish-Mexican use of the area is transient, limited to the passage of Coronado's army and Comanchero and Cibolero trading parties. Consequently, chance isolated finds of Spanish-Mexican period trade goods may be expected, reflecting either fortuitous losses of material, or perhaps historic Comanche encampments. There appears to be a low probability that encampment of Spanish-Mexican origin will be encountered. As noted earlier, geology and agricultural activities virtually preclude the recovery of material in an undisturbed context.

#### THE ANGLO AMERICAN PERIOD

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Before proceeding with this period, a quick review of a landmark paper by Walter Prescott Webb is in order. In 1929 Webb delivered his "The Great Plains and the Industrial Revolution" to the Conference on the History of the Trans-Mississippi West. The paper was published with others delivered during that conference in 1930. The ideas set forth in that paper were eventually expanded into the book The Great Plains, published in 1931. The essential ideas of Webb's paper are: 1) the various European colonists (particularly the Anglo Americans) began their movement into the interior of the New World through environments essentially identical to those from which they came; 2) these colonists improved and perfected their techniques of settlement and development as they moved through the land toward the Great Plains; and 3) when the frontier struck the Great Plains, either along the margins of the Llano Estacado or the 98th meridian, their nicely adjusted patterns of adaptation were found to be totally inadequate and the frontier movement collapsed into a type of chaos until the various new techniques or items of equipment could be developed (Webb 1930: 311-315).

In Webb's estimation, the attempt to cross the 98th meridian, the line of rainfall adequate to support humid climate farming techniques,

. . . resulted in social chaos and economic ruin which continued until, through invention and much experimentation, new weapons were adopted, new implements invented, new methods devised for getting water, making fences and farming; until new institutions were evolved or old ones modified to meet the needs of a country that was level, devoid of timber, and deficient in rainfall; until plainscraft took the place of woodcraft. In short, the ninety-eight meridian became a <u>fault</u> line of human affairs . . (Webb 1930:314).

Finally, Webb analyzes several needs which had to be met before the Great Plains could be occupied: the need for a new weapon (Webb 1930: 316), the need for a plains fence (1930:321), the need for a means of insuring an adequate water supply, and finally the need for farming machinery adequate to the Plains. These problems were solved eventually by the introduction of the revolver and other breech-loading or repeating firearms, barbed wire fencing, the well drill and windmill, and finally farm machinery in the form of various horse-drawn steel plows and the McCormick reaper.

The essence of the Webb Scenario can be stated as a series of steps with the initiation of each succeeding the completion of the preceeding step:

1) Eliminate the native population.

- 2) Exploit the most readily available natural resources. in this case grass, through cattle.
- 3) Provide rail transport in order to exploit adequately the cattle.
- 4) Increase the population of the country in order to make the railroad economically viable.
- 5) Develop an adequate means of fencing so that the random movement of cattle and men does not make it impossible to establish farms.
- 6) Develop water resources adequate to support farming operations and controlled stock raising ventures.

An examination of the history of the project area reveals that these stages are all represented. However, they do not occur in a well-defined succession, but in an increasingly compressed and overlapped sequence. This sequence compression can probably be best interpreted as a function of the lateness of settlement and the closing of the frontier.

The Elimination of the Native Population

The Comanche population was not eliminated from the project area until the tribe was confined with Kiowa and Kiowa Apache on an Oklahoma reservation in 1875. This was accomplished through concerted military campaigns and the elimination of the buffalo by white hunters (Wallace and Hoebel 1952:3). It is interesting to note that this result was not the initial aim of American officials in New Mexico, but it became increasingly imperative as the frontier began to encroach on the Comancheria.

In the early part of the 19th century the Comanches were beginning to come into contact with Anglo American traders moving westward along the rivers which drain into the Mississippi. The initial reaction to the traders was favorable because of the readiness of the Americans to trade firearms and manufactured goods. These were items which the colonial policy of Spain made virtually unobtainable from the Comanchero traders operating from New Mexico. However, as the Santa Fe trail was opened and Anglo American colonists entered Texas, increasing friction was engendered between the Comanches and the Anglo Americans. Some idea of what was beginning to occur can be gathered from an incident described by Hyde (1952:31).

. . . a band of Comanches rode into San Antonio for an old fashioned friendly visit with the Mexicans, there was a little party of Americans in town. The unsuspecting Comanches started the customary performance of taking anything that they fancied especially horses. They tried to take a horse from one American, a fine rifle from another, and the next moment several Comanches were shot down. The rest fled in panic; and the outrageous Americans who did not have any manners, actually pursued them, killed several more warriors, and captured many of the Comanches' own horses.

The relations of the Comanches and Anglo Americans in Texas was never very good, but it was to take considerable time before the repercussions of these problems would be felt directly in the project area. The conflict in Texas became more acute with the establishment of the Texas Republic. In the mid 1830s, the Texas Rangers had been formed to deal with both Mexican and Indian incursions on Texas settlements. This was a mounted force, essentially a form of partisan cavalry. In 1836 this force had obtained a number of the very early Colt revolvers and used them with decisive effect at the Battle of Pedernales (Webb 1930: 319). The military and public were slow to accept the novel weapon, but it is perhaps significant that Gregg boasts in 1836:

All I had to depend upon were my fire-arms which could hardly fail to produce an impression in my favor; for, thanks to Mr. Colt's invention, I carried thirty-six charges ready-loaded, which I could easily fire at a rate of a dozen a minute (Moorehead 1954:259).

Thus, the plainsman had a repeating firearm which offset the advantage of the Comanches' weapons in 1836. The elimination of the native population from this time forward was essentially a matter of supplying the proper tactics and sufficient manpower for proper execution of those tactics. However, even with the increasing conflict in Texas and the irritations of the Mexican War, the New Mexican frontier and the project area remained relatively uninvolved. In a military evaluation of the Comanche threat to the New Mexico territory in 1850, Colonel George A. McCall offered an unconcerned evaluation:

The eastern part of New Mexico, up to the Rio Pecos, is a part of the range of the Comanches, and they visit these grounds at least once a year, generally after the breaking up of their quarters near the sources of the Brazos and Trinity Rivers of Texas. They rarely commit depredations in New Mexico, and their movements are principally of interest to the state from intimate connexion with the Apaches. They meet the latter on the Pecos and there concert their campaigns into Chihuahua and Sonora (Frazer 1968:102-103).

McCall also identifies the Kiowas as moving with and being allied to the Comanches by this time. McCall estimated that at the time of his evaluation, there were 2500 Comanche lodges comprising some 12,000 tribesmen and 400 Kiowa lodges, or 2000 Kiowas, present in the Comancheria (Frazer 1968:110).

In the mid 1850s, the Anglo Americans and Comanches had come into conflict in New Mexico. The conflict began with the establishment of ranches in the Canadian and Pecos valleys. Comanche foraging visits of several of these ranches set the owners to demanding military protection from these incursions (Kenner 1969:122). The result was that a series of U.S. military posts began to be established along the boundaries of the Comancheria in Texas, New Mexico and Oklahoma.

The details of the Indian Wars have been recounted by many authors and will not be recounted in this paper. The increasing demands for control or confinement of the Comanche led to increased military penetration of the Llano Estacado from posts established along the margins of the plains. These patrols operated not only against the Comanche but also against the Comancheros who were believed to be supplying arms to the Comanche in return for cattle stolen in Texas (Kenner 1969).

In 1872 the Comanchero trail passing down the Portales Valley was finally discovered by troopers of the 4th Cavalry. A party of Comancheros who had used the trail was captured by Sergeant William Wilson's patrol. The Comancheros were taken to Fort Concho and questioned. The information obtained from these traders triggered the expedition of Colonel Raynald S. MacKenzie in July 1872. MacKenzie followed the Comanchero Trail from the eastern end westward to the Pecos, sending a scare through the traders and effectively ending its use (Kenner 1969:

190-192). In 1873 Captain Young led a patrol from Fort Bascom eastward along the trail, turned northward at Canyon Blanco, Texas, and reached the Washita River in Oklahoma, continued to Camp Supply, then headed westward to Adobe Walls and on to Fort Bascom (Kenner 1969:203). This expedition covered more than 1000 miles over a 58 day period without encountering a single Comanchero. The Comanchero trade can therefore be regarded as dead by the middle of 1873.

The Comanche were confined to the reservation by 1875. They had been eliminated from the High Plains by the appearance of the revolver and the modification of the army to a force with a large active cavalry component. In addition the army had adopted offensive tactics against both the Indians and the basis of their economy. The buffalo herds were essentially exterminated by Anglo hunters armed with long-range rifles before 1880. The army adopted a policy of seeking out and destroying Comanche villages in the heart of the Comancheria in late fall or winter. This type of action is exemplified by the operations of Crittenden in 1862, Carson in 1864 and MacKenzie in 1874 (Kenner 1969; Leckie 1963).

# Exploitation of the Grasslands: the Cattle Kingdom

The earliest ranches established in the project area date from the early 1880s. However, there is some debate as to which ranch occupied the area at what time. McAlavy (1978:3) indicates that the project area was part of the range of the Horse Shoe ranch, started in 1882 and broken up some time after 1906. On the other hand, Burns (1975:36) indicates that the first ranch in the project area was the H-Bar which was founded in 1885-86 and may have been broken up around 1901 (Burns 1975:42). There is some possibility that several other ranches grazed herds on the

lands of the project area (Abbink 1981:2).

In general, the ranches established in the project area are believed to have conformed to the conditions of operation outlined by Webb (1931: 238-241). However, data on the degree of fencing is scarce, and the only references to fences encountered in the documents were to drift fences (Burns 1975:37). Originally the cattle from these ranches were driven to Amarillo. Later, with the extension of the Pecos Valley and North Eastern railroad through the area in 1898, they were shipped from local cattle pens. Improvements on the ranch lands in the form of windmill-pumped wells were being made on the lands in the project area by 1896 (Burns 1975:37).

The open range ranches which occupied the project area appear to have seen some competition from sheep ranchers before the turn of the century. There appear to have been some conflicts between cattlemen and sheepmen, but these do not appear to have become as violent as those recorded in other parts of the country (Morgan 1975:34). There is no evidence that the project area was used for sheep ranching.

The ranch operations referred to above seem to have continued in operation until the construction of railroads and the push to achieve a sufficient population for statehood combined to bring about an influx of homesteaders, or "nesters," as they were referred to by the local ranchers.

## The Railroads

The project area was not serviced by any railroads prior to 1898. However, the importance of the local road which first penetrated the area is hard to overestimate. The area was first reached by the Pecos

Valley and North Eastern Railroad in 1898 when this road was extended northward from Roswell to Amarillo (Gravel 1955). This road was an offspring of the Pecos Valley Irrigation and Improvement Company owned at the time by J. J. Hagerman, a capitalist of the classic 19th century mold. Hagerman's basic idea was to increase the agricultural yield of the Pecos Valley by irrigation and provide a rail outlet for the resulting products to the east.

The details of the growth, construction and financing of the Pecos Valley and North Eastern Railroad are delineated by Gravel (1955) and will not be outlined here. The most important factors about this railroad bearing on this study are that its construction was partially financed by the Atchison Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad (Gravel 1955) and its construction led to the founding of Portales and Texico along its route to Amarillo.

The completion of the Pecos Valley and North Eastern Railroad line from Texico to Amarillo set the stage for the construction of the Belen Cutoff of the AT & SF. A line along a route in the vicinity of the Belen Cutoff had been discussed prior to 1878. Santa Fe engineers began prospecting for a route which would allow them to bypass the Raton route, and a series of surveys were made well to the north of the project area, the nearest approach being made by the Kingman Survey in 1878 (Waters 1950:353). By December of 1902, three survey teams under the direction of F. Meredith Jones had selected the route, and a grading contract was let by the 30th of December (Waters 1950:354). Work was begun on the line in 1903 but was held up due to a recession between August 1903 and the spring of 1904. Tracklaying did not begin until 1906, and the line

was not turned over to the operating department of the railroad until July 1, 1908 (Waters 1950:354).

The Belen Cutoff is crucial to the development of the history of the project area for several reasons. This rail corridor, which bisects the project area, is the main freight corridor for the Santa Fe railroad. In addition, the decision of railway engineers to establish their division point at Clovis, a town developed strictly for this purpose, was to result in a complete rearrangement of population and economic centers in the area and eventually in the establishment of a new country. These events will be detailed in a discussion of the homestead era.

The Homestead Era

The initial influx of homesteaders in the project area can best be attributed to the efforts of railroad agents. This wave of "immigrants" began arriving in the 1901 period (Crocchiola 1966:6). However, homesteading and settlement had started somewhat earlier to the south. By 1899, Portales, a town founded by the Pecos Valley and North Eastern railroad to the south of the project area, had been incorporated.

Several of the towns founded in this early period were in contention for the location of the division point for the Belen Cutoff. Portales was certain that the line would have to pass through its precincts and so did nothing to encourage the railroad that they would be selected for the division yards, which led to some land speculation at Portales, Texico and Melrose. In 1906 Santa Fe construction crows had started construction of a roundhouse and other yard facilities at Melrose, but on September 1, 1906, orders came down to abandon the construction (McAlavy and Kilmer 1978:4).

The chief engineer of the Santa Fe had decided to put the division point at a new spot. Orders were sent to the local railroad agents to purchase land for a town site, and the land was purchased from Jack Blackwell, Oliver Todd and Clayton and Nellie Reed, who collectively owned Section 18, T2N, R36E (McAlavy and Kilmer 1978:58). The rapid growth which this arbitrarily selected town site was to undergo completely rearranged the patterns of population and economic growth in the area. With the foundation of Clovis discussed, we can now describe the events of the early homestead period.

The influx of homesteaders between 1901 and 1903 was largely the result of the promotion of J. J. Hagerman and the Santa Fe railroad agents who were trying to increase the farming population which provided the revenue for the Pecos Valley and North Eastern Railroad (Bryant 1974:192). By 1903 a sufficiently large number of people had moved into the area centered on Portales to warrant the establishment of Roosevelt County. Growth continued in the area despite the failure of a large number of homesteaders. By 1909, Clovis hau outstripped Portales in growth, and residents of the "Magic City" were becoming dissatisfied with having to make a difficult trip through the sand hills to conduct business at the county seat. Therefore, in 1909 Charles Scheurich, a grandson of Charles Bent, went to Santa Fe and pushed through a bill creating Curry County. This bill was signed by Territorial Governor George Curry on February 25, 1909. On April 30, 1910, Clovis became the county seat (McAlavy and Kilmer 1978:5).

During 1903 a large number of homesteads failed, apparently due to to a drought (Abbink 1981:5). These homesteads were dry-land farms

based on the 160 acre homestead allowed by the 1862 Homestead Law and as has been observed by Webb (1930, 1931) and the settlers themselves (Abbink 1981:5), 160 acres was simply not a sufficient amount of land to allow a reasonable chance of success to a dry-land farmer without irrigation equipment.

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It might be speculated that this high failure rate and the low valuation of farm lands in the Clovis area played a part in a series of events which led to the fragmentation of the Republican Party before the 1912 election of Woodrow Wilson. In 1908, Richard A. Ballinger, the Commissioner of Public Lands, decided to withdraw lands around Clovis as homestead entries and evict those families living on the land. Needless to say this somewhat arbitrary decision upset families who had been on the land for nearly five years and were close to obtaining title. The only concession that Ballinger would make would to be allow the evicted homesteaders to file on homesteads elsewhere and start over (Larson 1968:281). Governor Curry was appealed to, and he set off for Washington. Curry was rudely treated by Ballinger, who refused to change his ruling. Curry next met with Secretary of the Interior James Garfield, who was more sympathetic, but refused to reverse the decision. Curry finally went to his friend Theodore Roosevelt with the problem, and the President promptly passed the word to Ballinger to reverse the ruling (Larson 1968:282).

The feud was intensified when Ballinger became the Secretary of the Interior under President Taft. Ballinger adopted a policy of harassing Curry at every opportunity and eventually forced the latter to resign in 1909. Thus, Curry's resignation, when taken in conjunction with the

resignation of National Forester, Gifford Pinchot, another Roosevelt man, under similar circumstances, can be seen as factors in the opening of the Roosevelt-Taft feud which resulted in Roosevelt's abandoning the Republican Party.

The "immigrants" who came and settled in the project area, particularly those who obtained warranty deeds in the project area between 1909 and 1917, came from Kentucky, Missouri, Kansas, Oklahoma, or Texas (Abbink 1981:5; McAlavy and Kilmer 1978). This group was filing on or preempting 160 acre homesteads as had the previous group (Curry County Real Estate Index 1909-1941).

They apparently lived on the homesteads at least long enough to "prove up" on the claim. Housing was initially provided by a dugcut or 1/2 dugout, and above ground houses were often not constructed until the 1920s (Abbink 1981:6). Improvements to the homestead usually included fencing of the k-section and the construction of a windmill-powered well to supply water for livestock and family. Interestingly, the homesteaders in the project area did not enter into the irrigation farming experiment which was conducted in and around Portales between 1903 and 1917 utilizing a central power plant and canals (Livingston 1975:122-127). In fact it appears that individual efforts to overcome difficulties of water supply were slow in coming into the project area. A number of residents with a knowledge of the homestead period indicate that for some families, water was hauled from the railroad water tank at Blacktower for a number of years (Abbink 1981). Despite a series of droughts in 1908-09, the 1930s and in 1957, individual efforts to irrigate were not widely undertaken in the project area until the droughts of the 1950s (Abbink 1981:7).

The locations of the original homestead structures are not now readily identifiable. Abbink was able to identify the location of a dugout in the SE4 of Section 15 by interview, though the structure has been destroyed. She identifies the possibility of a dugout in the NW4 of Section 14, but recent archaeological survey could not locate it. The Rothwell house located in the SE4 of Section 10 was built in 1920, possibly on top of an earlier dugout. A dugout is supposed to remain in the north central part of Section 23, but this location is now used as an equipment part for farm implements and machinery. Again, Abbink's interviews indicate that the foundations of another farmhouse, built in the 1920s, are present in the NE4 of Section 10. An abandoned farmhouse dating from the same period, located in the SE4 of Section 23, was noted during an archaeological survey conducted by ACA (C. Beck, personal communication). The foundations of still another farmstead from this period were also recorded in the NE4 of Section 26.

There are indications that the pattern of land tenure has changed since the early homestead days. A review of the entries in the Curry County Real Estate Index indicate that the land in the project area has generally been held for decreasing lengths of time as one nears the present. The index shows that the original patentee normally retained ownership of the land for periods between 20 and 40 years. Once the homesteader relinquished ownership, the land was often resold in progressively shorter periods. What this indicates in terms of agricultural economics would be worth exploring.

The history of the project area becomes rather commonplace after 1920. The next event of importance is the designation of Blacktower,

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renamed Portair, as a terminal point on the initial transcontinental air route in 1929. The field was selected for the combined Transcontinental Air Transport-Santa Fe Railroad service by Charles Lindbergh (McAlavy and Kilmer 1978:13). A Clovis employee of the railroad, Ernest S. Marsh, was responsible for negotiating the lease of the field (McAlavy 1976:49). This individual eventually became both President and Chairman of the Board of Santa Fe Industries.

The first flight of this service was made on July 8, 1929, and the first plane was piloted to the field by Lindbergh. The service was continued until October 8, 1930, when adoption of the longer-ranged Curtiss Condors made the railroad connection unnecessary, and the flights were rerouted to Tucumcari (McAlavy and Kilmer 1978:13).

The airfield struggled through the 1930s with the support of the Curry County Commissioners. In 1942 it was leased and expanded by the U.S. Army Air Corps as the Clovis Army Air Field (Crocchiola 1966). During World War II the field was used as a training base for heavy bomber groups. The field was deactivated in 1945, but with the outbreak of the Korean Conflict, it was reopened and has continued in service as a tactical fighter base. In 1957 the field was renamed Cannon Air Force Base (Crocchiola 1966; McAlavy and Kilmer 1978).

Two other events of interest, but of an incidental nature, have occurred in the post-homestead period. Between 1925 and 1935 the project area has been rocked by three earthquakes, the last of which was apparently centered at Clovis (McAlavy 1976:48). In 1932, Black Water Draw Locality No. 1 was discovered (Agogino 1975:20). This site is the Clovis type site.

Remains in the Project Area

As with the previous periods, remains from earliest periods of Anglo-American occupation of the project area will be limited to chance finds of military and ranching equipment. In addition some railroad artifacts can be expected in the vicinity of the railroad alignment, although there is no evidence of any station, yard, or maintenance of way facilities in the immediate project area.

Although both Abbink (1981) and the Corp of Engineers (Scope of Services, Intensive Cultural Resource Study of Historic Period Properties Clovis Construction Site, Tier 2a MX Study) projected the presence of a series of homesteads, the physical evidence for these sites is lacking. Pedestrian survey and records search, coupled with examination of large scale aerial photographs have failed to identify the location of these sites, even though they must have once existed. In one or two cases there is evidence that later homes were built directly over the filled in dugout locations, thus obliterating the earlier sites. New Mexico Historic Building Inventory information was provided by HERS for one such site located in Section 10 (see Appendix 1). Additional information about the sequence of land ownership for the project area is provided in Appendix 2.

## CONCLUSIONS

An examination of the historical data available for the project area indicates that, in general, the phases of settlement of the Great Plains outlined by Webb (1930, 1931) are present. There is definite evidence that, due to the late settlement of the area, essentially after the closure of the frontier as defined by Turner (1894), that certain of the phases such as the transition from open range ranching to homesteads, while initially delayed, occurred with amazing rapidity.

I would like to suggest that perhaps the most useful line of attack for further research would involve an exploration of the economics involved in the ranch-homestead transition, the effect of capital expenditures in developing the homesteads on the production of the dryland farms, and finally the meaning of the apparent pattern of shortened land tenure which appears in the Curry County Real Estate Index.

Resources available in the area for the pursuit of such studies include the Curry County Real Estate Index, Curry County Tax Records, the Curry County Probate Index, and the records of the U.S. Census from 1910 to the present. Additional information for the pursuit of these studies should also be available from the New Mexico State Agricultural Extension Service and the Newspaper Morgue maintained by the Clovis News Journal.

Appendix 1:

New Mexico Historic Building Inventory Form

Rothwell Farm

building threatened? yes	surveyed date 5/20/81 by	county Curry	ID no.	
ield map USGS Portair, NM QU	number ad.	UTM reference zone XDX 11		nor 3908119
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Appendix 2:

Land Ownership in the Project Area

A review of the Curry County Real Estate Index produces the following sequence of land ownership for the project area. The record is incomplete, and ownership sequence could not always be traced in its entirety.

Section	n 10, T2N, R34E, NMPM, Curry County	, New Mexico
S <sup>1</sup> <sub>2</sub> SW <sup>1</sup> <sub>3</sub> :	John McIntosh	1967-1981
	?	????-1967
S <sup>1</sup> 2SE <sup>1</sup> 2 (	south of AT & SF tracks)	
	L. D. Rothwell	1958-1981
SW4SE4:	B. R. Blackwell	1958-1958
SELSEZ	: Jess Britt	1958-1958
SE <sup>1</sup> SE <sup>1</sup> z:	Annie Ross	1958-1958
SE12:	Ledbetter-McReynolds	1948-1958
	?	???-1948
Section	1 11, T2N, R34E, NMPM, Curry County	, New Mexico
NE <sup>1</sup> 2:	Dudley S. Bailey	1973-1981
	Edith or W. D. Lewis	1967-1973
	A. O. Lewis	1953-1967
	Thomas E. Willmon	1919-1953
	Mrs. M. Libbie Swift	1917-1919
	Fred S. Swift	1911-1917 (Patentee)
NW <sup>1</sup> z:	Dudley S. Bailey	1960 <b>-198</b> 1
	L. R. Baxter	1952-1960
	H. C. Delaney	1941-1952
	Estelle Ruhlman	1913-1941 (Patentee)

SW!::	Richard M. Snell	1967-1981*
	M. M. Snell	1962-1967
	E. E. Moore	?1945-1962
	J. W. Davis	????-1945
	Lillian Griffity	1911-???? (Patentee)

. . . .

\*Snell sold part of the NE<sup>1</sup><sub>2</sub>SE<sup>1</sup><sub>4</sub>SW<sup>1</sup><sub>4</sub> to K. Barnett, Jr. in 1970; 21 acres of the SW4 south of the AT & SF tracks to Bertha Snell in 1974.

SE4:	J. W. Davis	1967-1981*
	Monroe W. Davis	?1967-1967
	Ernest Witherspoon	1953-1967
	H. C. Delaney	1952-1953
	?	???-1953

\*Davis sold the SW4SE4 to Vernon Martin in 1977;  $E^{1}_{2}SE^{1}_{4}$  to James N. Curry in 1974; 10 acres in the SE% to Bertha Snell in 1974.

Section 12, T2N, R34E, NMPM, Curry County, New Mexico

NE<sup>1</sup>.

J. L. Wall	1965-1981
E. G. Hardt	1956-1960
William H. Walden	1948-1956
F. E. Moore	1947-1948
L. L. Skarda	1946-1947
L. E. Harrington	1944-1946
Yan M. Davis	1942-1944
E. Willoughby	1930-1942
J. D. Hopper	1925-1930
E. Willoughby	1925-1925
Clovis City Bank	????-1925

NW <sup>1</sup> 2:	J. L. Wall	1967-1981
	E. G. Hardt	1956 <b>-</b> 1960
	William H. Walden	1948-1956
	F. E. Moore	1947-1948
	L. L. Skarda	1946-1947
	L. E. Harrington	1944-1946
	Van M. Davis	1942-1944
	E. Willoughby	1930-1942
	J. D. Hopper	1925-1930
	E. Willoughby	1925-1925
	Citizens Bank of Clovis	???-1925

Section 14, T2N, R34E, NMPM, Curry County, New Mexico

NW <sup>1</sup> <sub>2</sub> :	Bertha Ann Snell	1974-1981
	M. M. Snell	1958-1974
	William J. Ross	1953-1958
	Lario Oil & Gas Co.	1951-1953
	H. C. Hood	????-1951
	James E. Ledbetter	1917-????
	Cassie E. Schooler <u>et al</u>	1917-1917
	Mary Lucile Moore B. F. Schooler T. E. Schooler W. E. Schooler Arthur R. Schooler	
	Lewis Edward Schooler	1914-1917 (Patentee)

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Section 15, T2N, R34E, NMPM, Curry County, New Mexico NE<sup>1</sup>z: Gerald E. Wright 1962-1981 E. O. Battles 1962-1962 Esther Garrison/J. M. McConnell 1939-1962 Jim Bailey 1930-1939 Susan Bignell et al ???-1930 Alice C. Swan Henry Grizzle B. Franklin and L. H. Grizzle 1967-1981 SE1: Gerald E. Wright E. O. Battles 1960-1967 Esther Garrison/J. M. McConnell 1939-1962 ? ???-1939 NW12: John McIntosh 1959-1981 Estelle Ruhlman ???-1959 Abe Olson ????-1914 (Patentee?) Charles B. Roach ???-1911

Appendix 3:

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National Register Eligibility

The properties which lie within the study area have been examined in terms of the National Register criteria for evaluation as stated in 36CFR 1202.6 (1980:628-629). While an argument can be made that the project area is located on terrain which is "associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history," it does not contain any architectural or site remains which would warrant further mitigation.

. . . . .

The project area contains one house which dated back to the 1920s, but is not in any sense outstanding or associated with specific historic events or individuals. The Belen Cutoff bisects the project area, but unless it will be disrupted or relocated, this transport corridor will not be affected in National Register terms.

It does not appear that any of the original homestead dugouts have survived in the project area. While such sites or structures would probably be eligible for the National Register, their absence from the project area has eliminated this particular problem.

Cannon Air Force Base meets several of the criteria for National Register consideration, but it's prominence arises within the last 50 years. While Cannon overlies the site of the original Transcontinental Air Transport field, nothing of the original field facilities survive.

Because of the factors stated above, ACA does not believe that field mitigation of historic properties within the project area are justified. However, further research into the history of the area may be justified as the project advances.

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